Why Personality Matters

By Friedrich Hansen

Let‘s make no mistakes: the end of posturing is near, or in other words, Protestant politics „as if“ have run afoul of Western leadership, calling for a positive turn with populism. This can be detected from three German „dead men walking“ - Angela Merkel, Martin Schulz and Horst Seehofer - the three faceless leaders who have passed their „sell-by-date“. Martin Schulz, a Misfit who had to flee the European stage after getting notoriety for his vulgar expressions against among others the sitting Italian President and several English MEPs; Angela Merkel, a bromide if there ever was one, due to her extremely poor communication skills; Horst Seehofer, who disgraced himself in his own Bavarian constituency and fled to Berlin. All three recent loosers, adding insult to injury, managed to upend the decisive majority vote against the previous German coalition government.

This heinous coup does not bode well for the years ahead in Germany. Fairly soon the struggle between personalities and mere groupies will decide the direction of the West in the 21. century. The Renaissance of personalities is a result of the collapse of Communism and its replacement with Orthodox Christianity in what became known as the Third Rome. The incandescent personalities of presidents Trumps and Putin as well as PM Benjmain Netanyahu, is informed by monotheist religion and it provides a reading on the wall. It is a show of weak gourpism that liberals tried in vain to fight this Renaissance with secret agents and Foreign Intelligence Services (FISA) turned against their fellow country man, i.e. candidate Donald Trump. The actuality of true personal leadership is perfectly on display in the timely screening of „The Darkest Hour“. It shows Winston Churchill measuring up to the challenges after the disaster at Dunkirk. Even the old British alliance with Eastern Europe in the spirit of the ongoing Christian Renaissance there is being renewed against the unelected and atheist EU groupies.

The three German party hacks, listed above, belong to the Cold War period, when the major parties that shaped the German postwar era were still flabbergasted and paralyzed by German guilt. Meanwhile we see the rise of the Eurasian economy exposing the weakness of the West. What appears to be the last manning-up of close-minded Euro-groupies - financed by frontier assault oligarch George Soros resorting to his last line of defense on home turf - is clearly risking the demise of its constitutional conscience. The post-Brexit secenario is set to expose the anti-democratic character of the unelected EU elites even more. This scheming is unlikely to succeed over English freedom fighters in the best tradition of John Selden‘s constitutionalism. The irreplacable Brexit book to consult on these matters was just published by Ofir Haivry, cofounder of the Herzl Institute in Jerusalem under the title: „John Selden and the Western Political Tradition“.

This is touching on the soul of Western dramatic renewal coming out of the Anglosphere and in particular Britain these days. It is featuring vintage personalities like Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and Jacob Rees-Mogg. The latter is a Catholic, opposing abortion and gay marriage, and is the most favoured candiate for becoming the next Prime Minister. The inescapable message is this: groupies are less capable than personalities to generate empathy and coherence with their constituencies and peoples.

On the other hand, you cannot escape the liberal politization of groupism lately, all of which is essentially militating against the person and the traditional family. Groupism is foremost a political amplifyer in mass democracies due to the human mimetic instincts. It is for this reason that we have genderism as the latest levelling identity racket that contributes to the eclipse of genuine personality. Multinationals have aligned themselves with conformist groupism and identity politics with corperate world converting itself from a multitude of legal entities into conformist “groups”. This was all about the past obsession with replacing the transcendent „yoke of heaven“, manageable by our inner self and gifted with the classical freedom of conscience, with the “yoke of kingdom” that comes with surrogat freedom of “selfrealization”: bodily expressions and libidinous experiments all of which are bringing us ever closer to non-human creatures. Within a decade animal rights and human rights are likely to coalesce.

We should have detected the advent of the “yoke of kingdom” in early signs such as the spread of hoods and spiky dog chains with sadomasochistic gays, punks and gothic fans that were emerging in the 1970ies. Pointing to the limits of the enlightnement as they certainly do, these types were equally square and obsessive responses to the sexual liberation of 1968. Today the “yoke of kingdom” has taken the form of invisible chains of globalized consumer brands, inserted deeply in our limbic systems and the unconscious sections of the mind. Apple and Co. have just introduced now casino-style and very addictive digitalized games for four year olds.[1] Brands are uniformly operating theatres like MacDonalds, Starbucks and the like all of which cater to our “herd instincts” as much more than they look after our basic human needs. Yet clearly there is something missing, something more lofty to be shared by all. Global brand outlets are killing off not only local business and create joblessness, they also foster wage dumping and eradicate the wholesome sense of human dignity as we see with the Me too- revelation.

The stuggle about what human values actually mean to us has taken the form of a dramatic antagonism between centrifugal liberal globalism pivoting in the “Stop Trump-campaign” and the centripatl pull tiwrds nation and family by the real estate magnate from Queens NYC who managed

1 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/01/19/exclusive-children-young-four-offered-highly-addictive-casino/.

to upend the stereotype of the bullying white male by turning it into an issue of courage and character. Few figures on the liberal media have realized that President Trump has the guts and the personality to face them down. He is quickly approaching the format of a Churchill. Liberals keep underestimating Trump at their own peril just as Theodore Rossevelt did when he wrote to Senator Henry Cabot lodge of Winston Churchill, that he "possessed such levity, lack of sobriety, lack of permanent principle, and an inordinate thirst for that cheap form of admiration which is given to notoriety, as to make them poor public servants."[2] Western liberals share with fascists not only their anti-Christian infatuation but also their sycophancy towards Islam. Incidentially both depend for power on the reckless exploitation of group think and the spiritual tyranny of conformism, the backdrop of which is the emergence of surrogate sex, surrogate identities and surrogate motherhood. After the collapse of religion we are witnessing the return of chains as if confirming the inversion of the Jewish Exodus. Or will the "Trump storm" blow away rainbow group think like a bad dream? There are some hopefull signs on the horizon. Opinion leaders such as Peggy Noonan and Shelby Steel writing for the *Wall Street Journal,* or Myron Magnet and Andrew Klavan in the *City Journal* just commented favorably on the unexpected success of Trumpism. For the time being it has somehow silenced the cacophony of the rainbow coalition. How could Donald Trump possibly accomplish such a cultural turnaround?[3]

History suggests that in the long run maverick personalities or individual fighters tend to succeeded over conformists because groupism thwarts individual courage. Just think of the brilliant revolt led by a personality like Judas Maccabeus who castigated the haughty Greeks in the second century BCE by that clearing the way for the rise of Rome. Or think of Moshe Dajan, the emblematic figure of the miraculous Israeli victory against all odds in the 1967 Six-Day-War routing four Arab armies. In both case courageous personalities subdued herd instincts. In the same way Trump's tremendous personal courage is bound to win over liberal conformism and PC. A telling detail is his ignorance of decorum and aethetics in a postmodern society which has long given up on "form"[4] alltogether. All Trump has to do is just parading it and holding up the mirror for them. Even Trump's often castigated "narcissism", as David Cameron reminded us, is minute in comparison to that of Barack Obama. Again Trump's is particularly good at mirroring the notorious liberal elite's narcissist inclinations. Now mirror thinking was once the bane of metaphysics and was the domain of Greece in antiquity. This makes it worth tapping into the wisdom of classical "liberal arts", banned from Western campuses by Millenials at their own peril. For I guess it was precisely the dropping of classical education that weakened adolescent resilience and turned Western youth recently into

2 https://www.crisismagazine.com/2018/an-uncertain-sound.
3 The „Trump Storm" smashing PC: https://www.city-journal.org/html/truth-behind-trump-storm-15676.html;
4 Martin Mosebach: „The Heresy of Formlessness", 2008.

hysteric “wets” or “snowflakes”. Chained to PC these adolescents are lacking personality and courage and instead are calling for “trigger warnings” and “safe spaces”. It would appear that the unique personality in the affirmative sense is bound to make or break the Western civilization in the decades to come since it has been the “life blood” of the Western arts and sciences. Against this the conformist liberal mainstream gained the upper hand only after WW II yet it has shifted more recently towards the defensive mode of keeping the status quo which is always choice loosing out. This is where Laokoon comes in: a giant in resilience - a resilience drawn from suffering if on slightly different terms as his congenial and contemporean fellow Jesus Christ.

As both share a scenario of mortification let me whisk you off to the Vatican Museums in Rome. There we find the Laokoon “group”, as it is strangely called despite displaying a Trojan married priest and father of two sons. Surely the group label is biased and the sculpture ought to be adressed as family, if incomplete. Western celibacy speaks for a bias against the monotheist family for only in Eastern Orthodoxy, like in Judaism and Islam, a priest can marry. This Western abnormality goes back to Renaissance Hellenism when the Catholic Church obscured the family of the Jewish Jesus by canonizing an universal and unmarried Christ. Bernhard Starr would address this as “ethnic cleansing of Judaism in Medieval and Renaissance Art”.[5] The Renaissance reception of both Laokoon and Jesus Christ Hellenized them for the second time representing an anthropological regressions form sublime guilt to profane shame culture. It was to be followed in due course by a dramatic loss of Western resilience. Art history for reasons of cultivating genius and artifical identities has always been inimical to the concept of family. Which brings us back to the risks of telling the truth in a shame culture and to Laokoon. He is being punished with two constrictors sent by the Greek gods for having divulged the stratagem of the Trojan Horse - the deceptive Greek gift to their opponents in war which was meant to overwhelm the Trojans by surprise in the nick of time. We might note here the parallel to Presidient Trump, who just like Laokoon, is constantly punished for confronting his fellow Trojans with unconventient truths - to the horror of the cunning liberal media rattling with the constrictors of PC. It means that Trump is ceaselessly defending the Judeo-Christian guilt culture by braving some dire facts about American and Palestinian reality against the liberal ostrichs with their head shamefully hidden in the sand.

Now the provenience of Laokoon’s scupture is well known, hailing form a workshop in Rhodos on the orders of a wealthy Roman in the first century C.E. It was only re-discovered around 1500 in the rubble of Renaissance Rome and went on to become the most admired and talked about exhibit of what goes for Western-Hellenistic art. Yet at the same time this epistemiological tradition is deeply flawed and presents a paragon of cultural appropriation. First of all Laokoon was mistaken by art

5 Bernhard Starr: „Jesus Uncensored – Restoring the Authentic Jew“, NYC: 2013.

historians such as Johann J. Winckelmann as an example of Hellenisms, dating him falsely in the 3rd century BCE. Clearly the Trojan family man could not have been conceived without the biblical narrative and the monotheist concept of suffering. Being incarnated in terms of Christian guilt culture it is totally alien to authentic Greek shame culture. Greeks were too proud to openly admit infirmity and suffering.

Laokoon and his sons, 1st century C.E., Vatican Museum

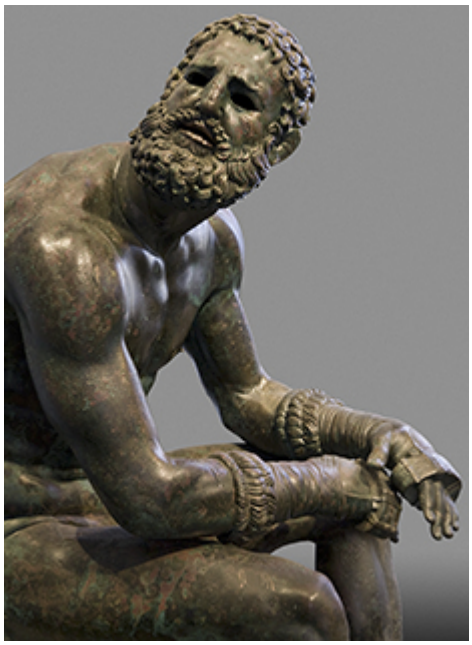
This brings us to the heavily gendered aesthetics of Winckelmann, who is still celebrated as the founder of German art history. He was gay and overambitious due to being the son of a poor cobbler from Stendal in Anhaltine Saxonia. Winckelmann preceeded Oscar Wilde with a very similar, i.e. lifestyle centered, Hellenistic agenda, yet he is probably less known in the Anglosphere than Wilde. Nevertheless his biased Hellenism has dominated the European Continent way too long and has been afforded a new boost with an expensive exhibition in prestigious Weimar recently. The 2017 exhibition once more presented his views on Greek art as the final say on that matter. I hasten to add that the first wave of German Hellenism of the 18th century is rooted not in actual study of the real thing but second hand and drawn from Roman copies only, as among others Wikipedia informs us. No doubt, an epigonal infatuation with imitation from a distance is fairly close to mirroring and good in keeping an illusion alive. It went on to become a sort of appropriated Hellenist life style “as if” rather than in sober academic study. This explained why in the nascent academic discipline of art history a self-made like Winckelmann succeeded: an autodidact under the wings of the Vatican. His unusual career came to an equally unusual end: his murder in Trieste in 1768 that reminds us of the end of the gay film maker Pier Paolo Pasolini.

Much of Winckelmann's art theory was the result of poorly reflected group sensibilities. Take for example his paradoxical advice we should "immitate the old Greeks in order to become inimitable". This mirror identity is like an outer echo of the self, born from Greek metaphysical thinking as it is which celebrates "sameness". His intuition could only be nourished in the context of the Roman world of copies and would have fallen apart if confronted with the real thing: authentic Greek art. For Winckelmann and others would have finally recognized that Greek art does not consist of originals, unique pieces, but of serial works of arts, based on multiplication or quantity rather than quality. The same can be seen with the famous painted Greel vases for use in the house hold. We need to take not of the entirely different understanding of art incient Greece where the craftsmen ranged much higher than the artists.[6]

Apollo, the God of – you pick one: the sun, light, music or prophecy.

6 Ernst H. Gombrich: „The Story of Art", 1950.

Yet German Hellenists in the mold of Winckelmann's school insisted on precisely the kind of delusional outward identity of sameness generated from metaphysical mirror thinking. To be sure, unlike Lord Byron and other English classicists, many of the earliest and most influencial German Hellenists, like Goethe and Wincklemann never bothered to visit Greece under Ottoman rule. Admittedly Greece at the time was an extremely backward country with almost no infrastructure. Yet German Philohellenes contented themselves with second hand evidence from the rubble of Rome. And there is even a deeper irony here: Greek art knew no original precisely because it lacked any concept of the unique person. Quite the opposite, Greeks are best known for their idealized stereotypes, gods like Apollo or Venus. This explains why upon studying Greek mythologie nobody can escape the many variants leading to confusions over who is who. The reason is there are too many competing lies, none of them authoritative. While the Jewish God is very personal, the Greek gods are many things and you need to choose between them. This brings me to the main concern of this essay: Jerusalem invented the concept of the unique person, based on monotheism, and bequeathed it onto Rome, while Athens gave us only impersonal forms of art. Everyone who bothers to visit the National Roman Museum, Palazzo Massimo near Termini, will immediate recognize what I mean. For what is on display in the first section covering the founders of the Roman Republic from the third century B.C.E onwards are hundreds of busts or heads of outstanding citizens, mostly in chalk or marble, with their unmistakable spirited features.



Seated Boxer, 300-200 B.C.E, bronce, National Roman Museum

It is a shrine of unique figures with identities pointing inward with the no names given of the artist who created them. This style is called Roman "realism" with inward personalities in contrast to

Greek “idealism”, scultptures showing idealized heros and gods, outwardly identified by attributes. With these Roman art features in mind let’s return to Laokoon in the Vatican which fascinated Winckelmann immediately after he arrived in Rome in 1755. He wrapped up his judgement in the term of mitigated emotion (“Affektdämpfung”) by that demonstrating his own ideal of coolness in hiding his true gay identity. Needless to say that his personal guilt feelings influenced his preference of the “noble lies” of Hellenist shame-and-honor culture over Judeo-Christian guilt culture. Another term that Winckelmann coined was his „edle Einfalt, stille Größe“ (“noble simplicity and quiet magnitude”) - which displays an almost pious devotion to the visible world at the cost of the auditive. It is also a reference to Greek pride, the cardinal feature of shame culture. More accurate to my mind was his observation about Greek art as „unmarked“ which is another word for impersonal or idealized in contrast to Roman republican art which we addressed as „marked“: equally personal and realistic. Here we are in agreement with Winckelmann.

Winckelmann opines the sculptues were “mute” meaning they cannot speak for themselves unless through attributes or in terms of group identities. His totally superficial sights ignore the deeper empathy which in our experience complementray emotions that ussually flow from the missing auditive input. It is informed by shared inner values. Winckelmann’s denial of his own emotions is echoed today by Millenials, who are in denial of their celebration of sameness. It informed their resent mob performances such as when hndreds of them shouting and crying unisono over half an hour at Charles Murrey, the distinguished sociologist, in Middleborough. This only betrays their shame-and honor-credentials and lthe complete loss of empathy for the “other”. In the same way Greeks in antiquity and Germans in the materialist 19th culminating with the Nazis tended not to reveal their personal inner feelings, rather replacing them with stereotyped group gestures or posturing. This is already present in Winckelmann‘s jargon which is full of “closed” protective nouns with rare use of open verbal expressions. This closed jargon of the German Hellenists is well known to have been suited for hiding personal emotions. It is for this reason that the Greeks identified with the lofty „true, beautifull and good“ all of which together could not work in reality either. For the true has no place under the visible paradigm as for example in Greek reality which was marked by a split between „surface and depth“ as observed by Parmenides. The expression of pain that dominates the sculpture of Laokoon, brings him close to the suffering of Chirst, something that transcends Hellenism, which formally ended in 30 B.C.E.

Winckelmann also invented a new phallic-muscular style of prose consisting of a cyclic-hysteric performance: a “surging and decongestant flow of words”. It rid itself of structural elements or words meaningfull in themselves by turning them in an equalizing series of elements into a

semblance of causal chains. It is easy to identify his Greek credentials here. His style seems to be terrified by interpunction or seperations, since he glorifies Greek mix and incessant flow of words driven by the „horror vacui“ - the nihilism of shame culture. Winckelmann certainly had no “inner self” or more precisely, like most gender dysphorics, he fled for cover from his “bad” inner conscience and the voice of God. His ideosycrasies revealed the typical pattern of the visual handicap: the feeling of being chased from behind, which would become a paranoid feature liberalism.

Psychosomatics of Shame

We might argue that psychosomatics was a genuine invention of the Greek shame culture, the case in point being the sculpture of Laokoon, which invokes the suffering of Jesus Christ. Jesus felt. just like Socrates, he had to pay with his life for trying to tell the truth. Likewise this seems to have inspired the artists from Rhodos who shaped Laokoon with the retrospective motive of “suffering for telling the truth” in a Christian fashion. This happened with the spread of guilt culture beyond the limits of Judaism, marked by the introduction of empathy. Winckelmanns observation about Laokoon as expressing “attenuated affect” is only true in a “psychosomatic” sense that overwhelming pain is extending from the facial expression and spread all over the body – an involuntary revelation in terms of shame culture. Yet this reckless visualization also known under the epithet of late “Hellenistic baroque” is not an “attenuation” in the eyes of the beholder rather it becomes more shocking. It intensifies our pain when looking at it by speaking to our Christian empathy. This is missed by Winckelmann because he is fascinated more by the physical animation of the sculpture.

Winckelmann’s writings have been described as “granular” or “very dense and concise, close to being obscure,”[7] which betrays his censored, self-protective style driven by motives of shame - certainly congenial to his venerated ancient Greeks. For instance describing Laokoon’s tortured facial expression as “sigh” would strike us as an understatement by Winckelmann. More appropriately we would conceive his face as “shocked” meaning he would be unable to cope letting the magnitude of his emotions overflow into the body, since the brain alone could not cope with its intensity. This would be a classical case of “somatization” induced in the human experience when exposed to the crude powers of a visual shock. This effect was noticed in Gotthold E. Lessing’s famous essay on Laokoon of 1766. Without admitting it, Lessing drew heavily on Jonathan Richardson’s work “Connoisseur” of 1728, who introduced the principal distinction between the

7 Helmut Pfotenhauer, Vortrag “250 Jahre Winckelmann”, Stendal: 2006, S. 16.

emotional effects of the shocking visual arts compared to the mollifying ways of poetry. He astutely observed that any narrative mitigates the shock of the visible experience as it embeddes and relativizes it in the flow of time.

By comparison spatial arts such as painting and sculpture do not offer us such relief exposing us to the acute moment of mischief which is depicted as the image of the “frozen moment”. Hence the spread of psychosomatics can be blamed mostly on the marginalizing of the audible since the Renaissance and the ascent of the visual paradigm in modern Western history. Winckelmann may have gained valuable clues from Richardson too, whom he has studied intensely. Richardson was arguing that the rendering of the scupture of Laokoon was “plus noble” - meaning less expressive and more restrained - than Vergil’s original narrative.[8] The narrative, he held, can be more expressive, even shocking because in turns it can hedge our emotions by relativising the shock through context. This might be a fine explanation of the Trump effect on liberals. They are missing all their usual mollifying narratives for the Millenials, being increasingly uneducted, cannot be satisfied by grown up jargon and abstracts. They wont everything to be related in broad redundant fashion Harry Potter-style. This demand for redundancy clearly reflects epistomological deficits on their part the inflation of standards in the humanities as well as the tyranny of modern visible culture reverting to shame culture.

The Greeks had to suppress the inner life by default because they let themselves be ruled by shame and visibility. This shows the vulnerabilities acquired by Millenials who dislike talk and are fond of “playing it cool”. It consists mainly in the constant role plays of acting “as if”, which is drawn from Greek tragedy. Shame cultural settings imply that denial of truth is the best way for survival the spades of revenge and humiliation. For this they follow heroic types as personal templates, stereotyped as ideas and patterns of action. The only escape from this was somatization as expressions of hidden truths, which made medicine the most important contribution of Hellenisms to modernity. In this way gender is little more than an escape rout via medicalization, for only through gender reasignment surgery their fiction becomes organically manifest. This is about fostering cultural sterotypes through medicine and it panders to categorial groupism and is hostile to the divinely given and therfore unique person.

We can now see that shame cultures preference of the plastic arts leaves individuals more irritable resulting either in somatization or in heinous acts of revenge because the visible paradigm is static and has only mirror thinking on offer for retribution. An altogether different matter is the guilt

8 See: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8365.1984.tb00127.x/abstract;

culture of Judaism with its protective image ban and firm reliance on language, negotiation and flexible exchanges under the auditive paradigm. The benefit of the ascent from shame to guilt culture can be best described as the acquisition of personality or the inner self of moral Adam II in addition to the Greek outer self known as Adam I. It gives us room for reflection, tolerance of the other and interpersonal cooperation, all which makes for good resilience. Needless to say guilt culture is the invention of Judaism and has its basis in the Torah or Old Testament.

At least the Greeks realized the danger of painting and prefered threedimensional plastic art for something to hold on to. Now one of the rare Greek paintings that have been preserved into our times is Timanthes with his rendering of Agamemnon's sacrifcing his daughter Iphigenia. It is dated to the 4th century B.C.E. The suffering by Agamemnon, just as with Laokoon is so overwhelming, that it cannot be disclosed to the unassisted eye. The painter Timanthes must have been very well aware of the vulnerability of the Greek visible infatuation and therefore covered Agamemnon's head: the figure on the left side with a hood. Tradition informs us about the tragically misogynic habits of the Greeks, as Agamemnon is said to have sacrificed his daughter merely for favourable winds to be granted by the gods. This we learn from Euripides' play „Iphigenia in Aulis" which the artist spread on the bottom of the original painting, not available online, together with scrolls from Aischylos und Sophokles who also wrote plays on Iphigenia as did Goethe. All this reminds us on the existential dependancy of images on words, since only language carries human resilience and is better equipped for dealing with shocks.

***The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, (original by Timanthes, 4th century B.C.E); here a Roman copy from 1st century B.C.E., discovered in Pompeji, now in the National Museum in Napoli**

This was later stressed by Cicero, when he argued that paiting must be careful upon dealing with horrible things in order not to pass the limits of decorum and decency.[9] This offers a perfect retrograd explanation for the Greek aversion to painting. Timanthes therefore abides to an aesthetics that avoids extreme suffering.[10]

The weakening of our resilience through extreme visual exposure seems to be a staple of the human condition, which is why we are seeing today vulnerable adolescents hiding their sights with hoods from the shocks delivered by the modern tyranny of visibility. The hood which is increasingly relied upon by young urban folks, more boys than girls for obvious reasons, is a good indicator for dwindling resilience. I would suggest that my concept on the depletion of resilienz in shame cultural settings obsessed with visibility offers a good explanation for the return of modern hysteria with Millennials on campus. The other side of the same coin is the degeneration of verbal skills under regimes of liberal speech codes which leaves little room for expressing the truth.

Hysteria is but a bodily expression of anxiety and it also evidence of a loss of personal composure. The term “snowflakes” for “cool” Millennials came into use because it properly describes their loss of resilience as a concequence of the strictures of PC and an illiteracy of the inner self. Like the ancient Greeks they find it extremely hard to admit any mistakes or weakness and thus have to resort to involuntary expressions of anguish such as hysteria. Like the same-sex avantgarde, to which they seem to look up with admiration, the Millennials have eclipsed their inner self and conscience and have put all their eggs in the basket of shifting outer “identities”, which have become increasingly negativ under the umbrella of anti-discrimination or action *against* climate change. It is for this reason that they often experience panic driven by inner void. The Millennials in their fragility as “snowflakes” are reminiscent of idealized centrifugal types. Jonathan Haidt in his recent Wriston-lecture[11] at the Manhattan Institute presented his project for spreading a heterodoxy of ideas on campus. He called on professors at US campuses to attempt to collectively redress the problems of PC by reversing the liberal bias toward a „centrifugal“ (visual) orientation. Well as far as history informs us this would be possible only if we return to the classical „centripetal“ (auditive)

9 Helmut Pfotenhauer: 250 Jahre Winckelmanns “Gedanken über die Nachahmung“, Vortrag, Stendal: 2006, S. 6.
10 Pfotenhauer, a.a.O. S.8.
11 https://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/2017-wriston-lecture-age-outrage-10779.html.

values such us family, nation and religion. Well, that I think is precisely what the Trump presidency is all about anyway.